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Unknown diversity: A study on undocumented migrant workers in the Dutch household sector

Research Memorandum 2013-7

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Unknown Diversity: A Study on Undocumented Migrant Workers in the Dutch Household Sector

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Abstract

Migration waves have a significant impact on cultural diversity. But in various sectors of the economy we observe large numbers of unregistered workers. Reliable data on undocumented immigrants living and working in developed economies are rare. This also holds true for the Netherlands. For labour unions, this is a neglected category of workers and hence it is important to investigate their job conditions. The present paper maps out the socio-economic situation of these unregistered migrant workers and aims to identify the drivers of their labour market position in terms of job opportunities and salary. The specific focus of this study will be on undocumented immigrant workers involved in the domestic work (or household) sector in the Netherlands. This paper offers empirical evidence on two levels: the individual level (migrant domestic workers), and the household level (from an employer perspective). From an individual employee perspective, we analyze the impact of hourly wages on human and social capital; we find that years of work experience and social network participation – in particular, family relationships and a combination of friends with employer relationships – increases the chances of finding a higher paid irregular job. From a household perspective, there appears to be a positive relationship between both the age of the employer and the size of the household on the one hand and the hours of domestic work needed per week on the other hand. Clearly, demographic change towards an ageing population will increase the demand for undocumented domestic workers.

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1. Introduction

The care section – and in general the domestic work sector – in households has over the past decades increased in importance, as a result of higher female labour force participation, higher incomes, and ageing. Since World War II, the participation of women in the formal labour market has increased in many European countries. As more women started to work in the labour market, this stimulated a growth in jobs for work in the home. This situation created opportunities for a large group of unskilled or low-skilled labour (mainly women) from the internal or domestic market as well as from foreign labour markets (especially from developing countries) in search of a better life, aiming to occupy and to fill the vacant positions in the households. Clearly, the demand for domestic work in the whole of Europe, but especially in Western Europe, is growing. From a demographic point of view, there is an increase in the number of older people living on their own, along with other factors such as divorce, separation and growth in the number of single people and single parents (European Trade Union Confederation, 2005). In the Netherlands, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the proportion of people aged 65 and above will be 16.8 percent in 2013 and this will increase by 2.2 percent in 2018 and more in later years (CBS: key figures of the population forecasts 2010-2060).

The term ‘domestic worker’ refers to a person who works inside the employer’s private household and performs a very wide range of activities and different tasks, from providing child and elderly care to cleaning, shopping, gardening, taking care of animals, laundry, household maintenance, etc. Some of these tasks include physical work, which requires greater skills such as cooking, and can also be stressful, for example, to finish the job in a time frame. Glazer-Malbin (1976) indicated that “shopping” could include different tasks such as making a list, purchasing, putting things away and throwing out old food. One of the main characteristics of domestic work is invisibility, as it is mostly done behind the scenes, and for centuries this work has been considered as informal and unproductive work. Nowadays, low-skilled and mostly female migrants from developing countries dominate this sector in the developed countries.

A study by Glenn (1992) indicates that white class-privileged women in the United States have historically freed themselves of household tasks by employing the low-wage services of coloured women. In the Netherlands, the traditional concept of the male breadwinner formed an important organizational principle of the post-war welfare state up until the 1980s. Since then, much has changed. Increasingly, women have started to take part in paid labour, and social policies and tax laws have been reformed to take account of the independent earnings of both spouses. Anecdotal evidence suggests that work that has previously been performed by unpaid wives, mothers and daughters is presently being outsourced to irregularly employed domestic workers, and increasingly to undocumented migrants from outside the EU who have few alternative options on the Dutch labour market. This development has prompted a situation of “unknown diversity”.

Many developed countries are increasingly focusing on welcoming highly skilled and highly educated immigrants from developing countries (Beechler, 2009), while there are a number of restrictions on the movement of low-skilled immigrants. However, there is a rapidly growing new type of temporary visa

(tourist, au-pairs, etc.) issued for low-skilled migrants (mostly women) to work in private households. The majority of these domestic workers enter the host country with a tourist, student or au-pair visa, and as their visas are not extended for another period, these people become undocumented. According to studies in 1991, the total number of undocumented immigrants in Western Europe was estimated at around 2.6 million and this number was estimated to have doubled by the end of the decade (Bodvarsson and Van den Berg, 2009). In the Netherlands, Van der Heijden et al. (2011) estimated the total number of illegal immigrants for the year 2009. They estimated that around 97,100 illegal immigrants (95% confidence interval from 60,700 to 133,600) are living in the Netherlands. Earlier estimates by Van der Heijden et al. (2006) claimed that the Netherlands in the period of 1997 to 2003 received approximately 50,000 to 200,000 illegal immigrants. It is important to indicate that the population of illegal residents is by no means stable. People are coming and going, some people seek legalization, while others are in transit and a portion will return (see Staring, 2001). These undocumented migrants have long been a cause of concern for the Dutch government, because as larger numbers of these migrants – particularly young people – migrate to the Netherlands, where legal avenues for immigration are limited, many fall prey to criminal syndicates of smugglers and traffickers in human beings, leading to gross violations of human rights. Furthermore, these undocumented migrants are also involved in different irregular economic activities. Given the fact that the female members of a family usually perform household tasks, the domestic worker who is employed is usually a female labourer. Therefore, this sector has provided a significant number of job opportunities for undocumented female migrants, who are working as domestic workers in private houses.

This paper investigates the impact of hourly wages on a combination of human capital and social capital measures. We found that education and years of work experience raise productivity and lower production costs, other things being held constant. Moreover, migrants are trying to concentrate in places with better economic opportunities and higher wages, therefore residential location plays an important role, in particular for undocumented migrants, because they tend not to travel a lot. From a social capital perspective, networks are found to play a significant role in finding job opportunities for these migrants. From the employer perspective, we are interested to see the impact of employers' features such as age and household characteristics on total hours of help needed per week. This is an important input to understand future trends in the demand for domestic workers. The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 we present a literature review and Section 3 has the data used in this paper. Section 4 presents our results, and Section 5 concludes.

2. Literature Review

The illegality of migrants has been well studied by sociologists more than by economists. Migration from the sociological point of view has been studied broadly, and one of the oldest theories in sociology is the pull and push model developed by Lee (1966). According to this model, migration is the outcome of two complementary sets of factors; first push factors such as poverty, lack of employment opportunities, conflict, natural disasters; secondly, pull factors including higher employment, greater wealth, better

service provision, favourable climate, political stability or low risk from natural hazards, have all made millions of people move from their country of origin to other countries and even to different continents. Between the two places (country of origin and country of destination) there is a set of barriers for migrants to overcome, and the set of barriers (legal, economic, social, distance, etc.) increases the cost of migration. The greater the difference between the net pull and push factors in the origin and destination countries, the more likely it is that migration will take place (Jandt et al., 2009). Further, there is another theory, which does not study migrants as individuals, but rather the social capital nature of this movement. This theory indicates that migration is a collective action, and usually happens when there is an established network of family and friends (Massey, 1988; Ports, 1995; Spender, 2001). Migration networks can be described as “sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey, 1988, p. 184). Through these bonds, migrants receive information regarding job opportunities, social protection, etc. Empirical studies have shown that social capital measures play a stronger role for illegal migrants (see, for example, Alt, 2003a).

From an economic perspective, the theory of the dual labour market developed originally by the American economists Doeringer and Piore (1971) can be used to explain the situation of undocumented migrants. This theory separates the labour market into a primary and a secondary sector. Jobs in the primary sector generally have higher pay and status, good working conditions and opportunities for promotion, while the secondary sector jobs have low status jobs, low pay and are usually filled by women and ethnic minorities. Nowadays, low skilled undocumented migrants are usually employed in the service sector where there are no specific qualifications. Furthermore, due to their low status and low pay these jobs are not attractive to natives (Arango, 2004).

If we look at the labour market effect of migration on the host economy, it is traditionally viewed from the perspective of complementarity/ substitution with natives in the production sectors (see e.g., Guiso et al. 2006; Nijkamp et al., 2012; Tubadj, 2012; Tubadji and Nijkamp, 2013). Concerning the substitution effect, studies have found that the employment of a domestic worker increases the participation of natives in the market (Cortés, 2011; Freire, 2011; Furtado, 2010). Therefore, the increase in the formal activity leads to an increase in informal activity (Marcelli, 2004). However, the majority of domestic workers do not pay taxes because they are illegally employed, but the extra work hours of employers in the market, thanks to their replacement by low-paid domestic workers in private households, have an impact on tax revenues. Moreover, informal economic activity in general, and activity by women and immigrants in particular, has been widely debated by many authors (Sassen, 1984 and 1988; Hoyman, 1987; Tienda and Raijman, 2000). Raijman (2001) indicates that the distinction between formal and informal economic activities does not necessarily depend on the character of the final product, but on the manner in which it is produced and exchanged.

Our study will now address the Netherlands as an illustrative case. Labour market participation of women has increased rapidly in the Netherlands during the last three decades, leading to increased demand for domestic workers. Moreover, the Netherlands has a higher rate of women’s participation in the labour market: according to European Standards, the labour participation rate of women is 71.5 per

cent, and about three quarters of Dutch women are working part-time (CBS, 2011 web-magazine). This makes the Netherlands the number one country in terms of the higher participation of women in part-time jobs. Therefore, many women are still struggling to combine work and home. Thus, while women's participation in the labour market has increased, they still carry out more household tasks than their male partners (de Ruijter and van der Lippe, 2009). Therefore, women who are employed part-time or full-time will benefit the most from employing a migrant domestic worker with low wages.

Another more recent development concerning demography is that the Netherlands is becoming an ageing society and this is another factor that increases the demand for irregular domestic work. Nowadays, newspaper ads by households in search of a cleaning lady or old-age care are numerous. In this paper we will explore the role of ageing and labour market participation on household demand for irregular domestic work. Furthermore, we analyze *the impact of social capital dimensions on access to a better-paid illegal job for undocumented migrant domestic workers in the Netherlands*.

3. Data

The data used in our empirical analysis were collected on the basis of a pilot project "Undocumented Migrant Domestic Workers" under the auspices of FNV Bondgenoten (one of the major trade unions in the Netherlands). Due to lack of information on the demographics and migration trends of undocumented foreign domestic workers in the Netherlands, as well as difficulties in accessing undocumented foreign workers for interviews, this paper is based on a convenience sample, comprising both interviews and survey questionnaires. This sample is based on interviews with 10 foreign domestic workers and two types of survey questionnaires: a digital version and an offline version (hardcopy). The questionnaires were designed to be completely identical and both took about 25-30 minutes to complete. Moreover, to make the interview comprehensible for those who did not speak English or Dutch (for example, Spanish speakers) the interview was conducted in Spanish. The aim of this questionnaire was to get a better insight into the economic and legal situation of domestic workers in the Netherlands.

The questionnaire covered subjects such as personal features, legal status (documented or undocumented), race and ethnicity, and language. Further, questions were asked about their work as a domestic worker in private households, their income and expenditure, and some information about their employers. In total there were 131 (completed and partly-completed) questionnaires for undocumented migrant domestic workers (supply side) and 592 observations for employers (demand side). However, because some of the questionnaires were incomplete, we ended up with 113 observations for undocumented migrants and 464 observations for employers.

Some selection bias in our sample is unavoidable. It may not seem peculiar to differentiate between foreign domestic workers from the nationality and race/ethnicity perspective. Nationality plays a significant role in determining working and living conditions and payment of domestic workers, as well

as the services available to them. The foreign domestic workers who completed the questionnaires (online and offline) associated with others of the same nationality. Therefore, nationality plays a defining role in the make-up of these workers' communities and affects the type of access. Filipina (48%) and Indonesian (39%) undocumented migrant domestic workers were very eager to take part in the research so it is not surprising that these two nationalities are over-represented in this sample compared to other nationalities. Our respondents ranged in age from 22 years old to the oldest participant who was over 56 years old.

Next to a general descriptive analysis, our aim is also to design an exploratory framework for the labour market position of migrant domestic workers. We have two dependent variables in our analysis, viz. hourly wages in natural logarithm form for undocumented immigrant domestic workers for analysis of this sector from the supply side, and total number of hours of domestic help needed by private households per week in natural logarithm from the demand side. We asked undocumented immigrant domestic workers to indicate how much they receive per hour of domestic work, and as each of these domestic workers works for more than one employer, we also asked them to indicate the total number of hours per week they work for each employer.

Different criteria are applied by employers to select who will be employed in the household. We identified the independent variables as follows: a dummy variable is used to differentiate the gender of domestic workers - 1 is for male, and 0 is female. If we look at the literature, three classes of domestic workers based on the type of employment relationship are identified, live-in, live-out full-time and casual or hourly paid domestic workers (Gallotti, 2009). The live-in refers to the domestic worker who is living and working in a private house, and full-time domestic worker refers to a domestic worker who is working full-time in a private house, but not living there, and finally the hourly paid domestic worker works for different employers. The last type of worker is also called a freelance worker, usually having multiple employers. In this analysis we do not have any live-out full-time domestic workers, so we differentiate between live-in and hourly paid domestic workers using a dummy variable 1 for live-in domestic workers, and 0 for hourly paid domestic workers.

The human capital model suggests that education and years of work experience have a positive impact on the productivity of labour. We applied this model in this analysis for undocumented migrant domestic workers. Therefore, we controlled for the age of the respondent, the education level of domestic workers (5 categories, varying from 1= no education to 5= University degree) and years of experience. Furthermore, social capital plays a significant role in finding a job. We asked our respondents to indicate the channels through which they found domestic work. We have dummies for different social networks: family, friends, employer, family+friends, family+employer, and friends+employer. We used friends as a reference variable in our analysis. Furthermore, we also had an option for those domestic workers who find their work through advertisements. This dummy variable takes the value of 1 if the domestic worker finds a job through an advertisement and 0 otherwise.

In the literature on migrant workers discrimination between the colours (black, white, Asian) has been indicated. In order to control whether there is discrimination among different races/ethnicities, we use a dummy taking the value of 1 if the undocumented domestic worker is black⁴, and 0 otherwise. Moreover, living in bigger cities may increase the chance of employment. To control for this effect, we asked our respondents to indicate in which city they live. The data shows that 42% of our respondents live in Amsterdam, 46% in The Hague, 3% in Rotterdam, 2% in Utrecht, and 7% in other cities. We used dummies for each city (for example, a respondent living in Amsterdam is equal to 1, and 0 otherwise), and other cities are the reference category in our analysis. Furthermore, we also have two more dummies, one for language (if the respondent speaks English) and one for legal status (1= documented, and 0 otherwise).

From the demand perspective, we have data on 15 explanatory variables. The household size is the sum of parent(s) with the number of children. For domestic workers' years of experience with the household, there are two different dummy variables, for households with children between one month and 6 years and the second capturing the effect of children between the age of 6 and 15 years, with a dummy for households without children. We also controlled for the age of the employer, and whether the employer is married or single. We also interacted gender with marital status "single" to observe the difference between the genders and created two variables `single_male` and `single_female`. We collected this information from the interviews and written questionnaires from the domestic workers. As indicated above, we also devoted a section of our questionnaire to gather information on employers.

4. Sample Characteristics

We will first offer some descriptive empirical evidence from our sample. Undocumented migrants are not a homogeneous group. Based on the interviews and questionnaires, almost 78 percent of our sample (from a total of 123 answered questionnaires) entered the Netherlands legally (via tourist or au-pair visas), and then overstayed their visas. The remaining 22 per cent are mostly asylum seekers, whose cases have been rejected by the government and who have to leave the Netherlands.

The gender composition is 62 per cent female and 38 per cent male. As Table 1 shows, the youngest participant in the sample is 22 years old and the oldest participant is over 56 years old. From the education perspective, on average they have apprenticeship/job training and we do not have any migrant domestic workers without education. Moreover, 38 per cent of our sample has a university degree, which means that they are seriously overqualified for their jobs. Regarding social capital measures, on average the combination of family + employer and friends + employer were most often mentioned as the source of job opportunities for undocumented migrant domestic workers. Concerning residence and workplace, the majority of these workers live in Amsterdam or The Hague.

⁴ We have higher shares of Philippines and Indonesians, and only one observation for white domestic worker. Therefore, to control whether white domestic workers, based on cultural closeness with Dutch, are treated differently in comparison to others (Asian and black) is impossible in this analysis.

From the employer perspective, the average age of the employer is 44 years old. The average household size is 3 persons. On average each household needs 4.69 hours of domestic help per week. Furthermore, on average each undocumented domestic worker has worked for 3 years with their employers. Regarding the personal status of the employers, 70 percent are married and 19 percent are single. Furthermore, 83 per cent of employers are employed full-time and only 4 percent are employed part-time. It is important to indicate that our findings are based upon a non-random sample and therefore they cannot be easily generalized.

5. Empirical Results from Regression Analysis

This section is divided into two sub-sections. First we present the results from the migrant domestic workers (supply side), and then we present the results from the employer perspective (demand side).

Table 1: Summary of statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Supply side					
Hourly wage (Euro)	122	9.388	2.319	3.3	15
Gender# (male=1)	130	0.377	0.486	0	1
Education (5 categories)	124	3.931	0.906	2	5
Work experience (years)	119	3.931	3.218	0.7	18
Age (years)	129	36.16	9.200	22	56
Live-in domestic worker #	131	0.029	0.150	0	1
Hourly paid domestic workers #	131	0.977	0.151	0	1
Black domestic worker #	131	0.069	0.254	0	1
Family #	131	0.076	0.267	0	1
Friends #	131	0.099	0.300	0	1
Employer #	131	0.061	0.240	0	1
Family+Employer #	131	0.321	0.469	0	1
Friends+Employer #	131	0.290	0.456	0	1
Family+Friends+Employer #	131	0.023	0.150	0	1
Advertisement #	131	0.122	0.329	0	1
Amsterdam #	122	0.418	0.495	0	1
Rotterdam #	122	0.033	0.179	0	1
The Hague #	122	0.459	0.500	0	1
Utrecht #	122	0.016	0.128	0	1
Other city #	122	0.074	0.263	0	1
Demand side					
Age (years)	462	44.40	11.399	21	92
Hours per week (hours)	517	4.688	3.825	1	50
Years of experience (years)	477	3.035	2.608	0.1	12
Household size (number)	587	3.250	1.488	1	8
Full-time #	511	0.836	0.371	0	1
Part-time #	511	0.041	0.199	0	1
Retired+jobless#	511	0.123	0.329	0	1
Households with children from 0.1 to 5 years #	456	0.285	0.419	0	1
Households with children from 6 to 15 years #	456	0.206	0.405	0	1
Households with children 16 years and above #	456	0.199	0.400	0	1
Households without children #	456	0.302	0.459	0	1
Married #	579	0.713	0.453	0	1
Single #	579	0.193	0.395	0	1
Divorce+ widow#	579	0.095	0.291	0	1
Employer age over 51 years #	462	0.203	0.403	0	1
Employer age from 41 to 50 years #	462	0.321	0.468	0	1
Employer age from 31 to 40 years #	462	0.381	0.486	0	1
Employer age from 21 to 30 years#	462	0.095	0.291	0	1

indicates dummy variable.

5.1. Empirical results from the employee perspective

As indicated in the data section, the dependent variable in our OLS regression is the natural logarithm of the hourly wage of domestic workers. The mean value of the hourly wage, according to our data set, is 9.39 Euro, which is slightly higher than (8.90 euro per hour) found in a previous survey of FNV

Boundgenoten (IRENE & IUF, 2008). Table 1 shows the summary statistics based on the data. As we can observe from Table 2 below, all the coefficients have the expected signs. The gender variable is statistically significant and shows that women are better paid than men in this industry. This is probably due to the fact that domestic work is considered a woman's job.

As pointed out by various scholars (see, for example, Mincer (1958) and Michael (1973)), education and years of work experience improve people's productivity. Our estimated result indeed confirms that education and experience have a positive impact on wages. Domestic workers' education affects the marginal productivity of their services and their time inputs. In our analysis the education variable is positively related to the hourly wages of undocumented migrants, but it is statistically insignificant. Moreover, the years of work experience are positively related to the hourly wages and statistically significant at 10 percent level. This indicates that if the number of years of work experience of undocumented domestic workers increases by 10 percent, their wages increase by 2% ceteris paribus.

Concerning the wage difference between live-in and hourly paid domestic workers, our estimation shows that live-in domestic workers receive 31 percent lower hourly wages than hourly paid domestic workers. This must reflect the costs of accommodation, food, and transportation.

Miles (1999), in her research into migrant women doing live-in domestic work, found that the disadvantages of being one of the family far outweigh the advantages. Wages tend to be lower and are paid erratically on the premise that the maid will understand the employer's financial situation. In this study, the mean value of total hours of work per week for live-in domestic workers is 46 hours, while for hourly paid domestic workers it is 21 hours. The mean value of total hours of work per week shows that live-in domestic workers are in a disadvantaged position, as indicated by Miles (1999). Moreover, during one interview, a domestic worker who worked as a live-in domestic worker said that she was a slave in her employer's household. Her working time was not fixed and she had to take care of all household tasks. Another undocumented domestic worker said *"I am afraid of being caught by the police, but still I feel that I am a free person. I work whenever I want to, but as a live-in domestic worker I didn't have such freedom"*.

Regarding race/ethnicity discrimination, black domestic workers are often stereotyped as lazy, careless and unproductive, and this is reflected in the low hourly wages of black domestic workers. In our result, we have a negative coefficient, but it is statistically not significant, so we cannot confirm wage discrimination.

Table 2: OLS results from supply side

Dependent variable: hourly wages in natural logarithm		
	I	II
Gender (male)	-0.128 (0.0600) **	-0.111 (0.0586) *
Education	0.0287 (0.0310)	0.0217 (0.0300)
Work experience (years)	0.0171 (0.0095) *	0.0189 (0.00938) **
Age (years)	0.00111 (0.0033)	0.00049(0.0033)
Live-in domestic worker	-0.307 (0.176) *	-0.311 (0.170) *
Black domestic worker	-0.152 (0.116)	-0.175 (0.114)
Job is found via		
Family	0.288 (0.132) **	0.257 (0.128) **
Employer	0.113 (0.134)	0.0403 (0.134)
Family+Employer	0.208 (0.102) **	0.153 (0.0997)
Friends+Employer	0.213 (0.102) **	0.210 (0.0995) **
Family+Friends+Employer	0.0634 (0.220)	0.0133 (0.214)
Advertisement	0.297 (0.147) **	0.238 (0.147)
Residential location		
Amsterdam		0.203 (0.0862) **
Rotterdam		0.0215 (0.0824)
The Hague		0.0623 (0.164)
Utrecht		0.277 (0.283)
Constant	1.930 (0.187) ***	1.908 (0.188) ***
Observations	113	113
R-squared	0.236	0.317
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

Reference cases for dummies are female domestic workers, hourly paid domestic workers, other ethnicities , friends for jobs found via, other cities for residential location.

The social capital⁵ variables that indicate the channel via which a job is found comprise family, friends, employer, and combinations of each are larger than the reference category (friends). As we observe from Table 2, the family relationship leads undocumented migrant domestic workers to better paid jobs in comparison to the reference variable. Our interviews with undocumented migrant domestic workers support the results. An undocumented migrant domestic worker who wanted to remain anonymous indicated:

...my family member who worked for 5 years in Amsterdam called me from the Philippines. She gave me accommodation and referred me to two employers. Then, my employers referred me to other employers who were in need of help. Right now I am working for 12 employers.

From the indication above, we can observe that family and friends play an important role in the initial decision to migrate to the Netherlands. They provide job opportunities and information about the social life of the host country. Then they find other opportunities via their employers.

⁵ We have only one observation for the category of family+friends; this is dropped due to collinearity.

Further, advertising also plays an important role in finding a job. As can be observed from Table 2, domestic workers who found their jobs through advertisements are even better paid than their friends.

In the second column of Table 2 we added the location effect of domestic workers. As can be observed, all other coefficients mostly remained the same. This shows the robustness of our results. All big cities, called Randstad in Dutch, offer higher wages than other cities. Those undocumented migrant domestic workers who live and work in Amsterdam are paid 20 percent more than those in other cities. The coefficients for Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht are positive, but they are statistically insignificant. This finding explains why the large cities are attractive places for undocumented migrants to settle.

5.2 Empirical results from the employer perspective

The dependent variable in this regression is the total number of hours of domestic help needed by private households per week. The mean value for total hours of domestic help per week is 4.7 hours, which is higher than (3.4 hours) in the SEOR-enquête (2004). The explanatory variables are described in the data section. As we can see from Table 3 below, the size of household has a positive and significant impact on the number of hours of domestic help needed per week. Our result indicates that increasing the household size by 1 member increases the hours of domestic help per week by 10 per cent, *ceteris paribus*.

The issue of trust is one of the biggest concerns of employers because domestic workers usually work while the employer is not present at home. Moreover, domestic workers are not embedded in the context of family loyalty, and their behaviour can have undesirable consequences for private households. One way to reduce this risk and any undesirable consequences is to employ a trusted domestic worker, with whom the household has had experience or whom friends, families and neighbours recommend. Our result shows that the employer's attitude in employing domestic workers with whom households have had experience is positive and significant. In line with our result, the study by Ruijter and van de Lippe (2009) finds that the general level of trust increases the likelihood of outsourcing household tasks.

The advantage of employing a domestic worker in a household should not be underestimated, especially in facilitating middle-class people and especially women participating in the labour market or in the community and voluntary work sector. We find evidence that those employers who work full-time need more help in comparison to the reference category (where the employer is retired or jobless). However, the coefficient for part-time occupation of employers is positively related with the dependent variable, although it is statistically insignificant. Moreover, households with younger children need more domestic help per week. Our result indicates that households which have children between one month and 5 years old need 15 per cent more domestic help per week than households with children older than 16 years. The same result is found for households without children.

The fact that the Netherlands is becoming an ageing society has been debated by scholars for a long time and the number of people who live alone is increasing. According to the CBS web-magazine, one in five 18 to 64 year old men live alone, while for women it is just one in six and the percentage is increasing steadily (CBS, 2011). Moreover, CBS (StatLine) indicates that the proportion of 40-64 year olds rose from 30 percent in 1995 to 35 percent in 2007, and for 65-79 year olds it increased from 10.1 percent to 10.8 percent. The age cycle has an impact on demand for domestic work. This can be seen from column I, where age is added nonlinearly and column II, where different age groups are added linearly. The older the age of the employer is, the more they need domestic help per week. In column II, employers over 51 years old need 16 percent more domestic help than the reference category (employer age 21-30), and as we move towards younger employers the amount of help per week gets smaller.

Table 3: OLS result from demand side

Dependent variable = ln (total number of hours of domestic help needed by private households per week)		
	I	II
Years of domestic worker experience with household	0.0187 (0.0072) **	0.0189(0.0073)***
Household size	0.0944 (0.0244) ***	0.0989 (0.0243) ***
Position of employer		
Full-time	0.317 (0.0897) ***	0.234 (0.071) ***
Part-time	0.177 (0.1180)	0.100(0.113)
Household type		
Households with children from 0.1 to 5 years	0.171 (0.0701) **	0.151 (0.0710) **
Households with children from 6 to 15 years	0.0365 (0.065)	0.0070(0.066)
Households without children	0.205 (0.0766) ***	0.199 (0.0777) **
Personal status		
Married+living together	0.085 (0.0728)	0.0727 (0.0728)
Single	0.086 (0.0882)	0.0670(0.0880)
Employer age		
Age (years)	0.0069 (0.0027) **	
Over 51 years		0.160 (0.0959) *
From 41 to 50 years		0.131(0.0794)
From 31 to 40 years		0.0301(0.074)
Constant	0.248 (0.218)	0.558 (0.1570) ***
Observations	341	341
R-squared	0.168	0.168
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

Reference cases for dummies are retired+jobless for position of employer, households with children over 16 years, personal status divorce+widow, and employer between 21 and 30 years old.

From the results of Table 3, we can conclude that there is a positive and significant relationship between the age of the employer and the volume of domestic help needed per week, which underlines the importance of ageing for the demand side of domestic work.

6. Conclusion

Various structural trends are prompting the emergence of a culturally diverse economy, with a mix of both official and unregistered migrant workers. We find that women are better paid in the domestic household sector. As domestic work has traditionally been a female job, employers prefer women to their male counterparts in this sector. Based on our empirical results, the wage difference between men and women appears to be about 13 per cent in this sector. Furthermore, live-in migrant domestic workers are in worse conditions: in some of the literature this type of domestic work is associated with a slavery situation. They receive lower wages per hour than hourly paid domestic workers. However, low wages also reflect the costs of accommodation, food, and transportation. Regarding the residential location of domestic workers, those who live in bigger cities are better paid than those in smaller cities. Our finding on the choice of location by undocumented migrants explains why large cities are more attractive places for undocumented migrants to settle.

The explanations for the outsourcing behaviour of domestic work mainly focus on time and money: households with stricter time constraints and greater financial resources are expected to outsource tasks more often than other households. However, having less time for domestic production does not always increase household outsourcing. The results of the current study demonstrate that household size and having children aged between a month and 5 years increases the chances of hiring a paid domestic worker. Furthermore, a positive relationship between the age of the employer and the hours of domestic help is found in this study.

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Appendix A

The full text of the questionnaire is available on request. A summary is presented below.

A. Personal data

How old are you?

What is your sex?

In which country you were born?

What was the reason you came to the Netherlands?

Where do you live? (Indicate the city)

What is your mentioned status?

Do you have children? If yes, how many

Where do your children live?

What is your legal status now?

What was your legal status when you came to the Netherlands?

What is your educational background?

How would you describe your race/ethnicity/origin?

B. Your work as a domestic worker

What kind of work do you do as a domestic worker?

How long have you been working as a domestic worker?

How did you find this domestic work?

Are you working as a live-in?

Are you paid per hour?

Do you work overtime (in accordance with your contract)? If yes, how many hours per week?

Do you have additional sources of income?

C. About your employer

How many employer(s) do you have?

Is your employer female or male?

Is he/she married or single?

Does she/he have children? If yes, how many?

How old is she/he?

How old is her/his youngest child?

Does she/ he work? Full-time or part-time?

How long have you been working for this household?

How many hours do you work for this employer on average per week?

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